THE RECORD-UNION.

CAMPAIGN SUPPLEMENT.

NUGGETS AND CRYSTALS

—FROM THE—

Public Speeches and Official Papers

—OF—

BENJAMIN HARRISON,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Homes—Schools—Defenders—Commerce—Reciprocity—Nationality—One Country—The Flag—American Labor—The Dollar—Supremacy of the Law—Cheap Products—Trade and the Flag—The Ballot-Box.

The American Workman First of All.

[Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 1, 1890.]

From the time of my induction into office the duty of using every power and influence given by law to the Executive Department for the development of larger markets for our products, especially our farm products, has been kept constantly in mind, and no effort has been or will be spared to promote that end. We are under no disadvantage in any foreign market, except that we pay our workmen and workwomen better wages than are paid elsewhere—better abstractly, better relatively to the cost of the necessaries of life. I do not doubt that a very largely increased foreign trade is accessible to us without bartering for it either our home market for such products of the farm and shop as our own people can supply, or the wages of our working people.

God Bless the Stars and Stripes!

[Address to National Educational Association.]

I have been charged with too sentimental an appreciation of the flag. I will not enter upon any defense. God pity the American citizen who does not love it, who does not see in it the story of our great free institutions and the hope of the home as well as of the Nation, and I think, notwithstanding, perhaps, a little too much tendency to rote in our public schools, that it is still true that our teachers, and especially the women, are not without sentiment.

The Strength of National Sentiment.

[At San Francisco, May 1st.]

I feel that we have come to a point where American industries, American commerce and American influence are to be revived and extended. The American sentiment and feeling was never more controlling than now; and I do not use that term in the narrow sense of native American, but to embrace all loyal citizens, whether native-born or adopted, who have the love of our flag in their hearts.

The March of the Southland.

[Reception to Illinois Friends, Indianapolis, July 19th.]

We are glad to know that the enlightened sentiment of the South to-day unites with us in our congratulations that slavery has been abolished. They have come to realize, and many of their best and greatest men publicly express the thought that the abolition of slavery has opened a gateway of progress and material development to the South that was forever closed against her people while domestic slavery existed.

Good-Will to the South.

[Michigan Club Banquet, Detroit, February 22, 1888.]

Not one of this great assemblage of Republicans who listen to me to-night wishes ill to the South. If it were left to us here to-night the streams of her prosperity would be full. We would gladly hear of her reviving and stimulated industry. We gladly hear of increasing wealth in those States of the South. We wish them to share in the onward and upward movement of a great people.

New Birth for the South.

[Birmingham, Ala., April 16th.]

The industries that have called to your midst so many toiling men are always and everywhere the concomitants of freedom. Out of all this freedom from the incubus of slavery the South has found a new industrial birth.

Unity of Heart and Interest.

[Anniston, Ala., April 16th.]

You are realizing the benefits of home markets for what you produce, and I am sure you will unite with me in those efforts which we ought to make, not only to fill our own markets with all that this great nation of 65,000,000 needs, but to reach out to other markets and enter into competition with the world for them. This we shall do, and with all this mechanical and commercial development, we shall realize largely that condition of unification of heart and interest to which those who have spoken for you have so eloquently alluded.

The Law Reigns Over All.

[Galesburg, Ill., October 8, 1889.]

Let us divide upon tariff and finance, but let there never be a division among the American people upon this question, that nowhere shall the law be overturned in the interest of anybody. If it fails of beneficent purpose, which should be the object of all law, then let us modify it, but while it is law let us insist that it shall be obeyed.

The Law Must be Supreme.

[Knoxville, Tenn., April 14th.]

We live in a Government of law. The compact of our organization is that a majority of our people, taking those methods which are prescribed by the Constitution and law, shall determine our public politics and choose our rulers. It is our solemn compact; it cannot safely be broken. We may safely differ about politics; we may safely divide upon the question as to what shall be the law; but when the law is once enacted, no community can safely divide on the question of implicit obedience to the law.

The Republican Party Creates Homes.

[Indianapolis, Ind., August 14, 1888.]

I take more pride in the fact that the Republican party has always been the friend and protector of the American home than in aught else. By the beneficent homestead law it created more than half a million homes; by the Emancipation Proclamation it converted a million cattle pens into homes. And it is still true to those principles that will preserve contentment and prosperity in our homes.

One Wife is Uncrowned Glory.

[Salt Lake City, May 9, 1891.]

The foundation of American life is the American home. That which distinguished us from other nations whose political experience and history have been full of strife and discord is the American home, where one wife sits in single uncrowned glory.

Hail to the Gallant Foe!

[Memphis, Tenn., April 17, 1891.]

I am glad that the Confederate soldier, confessing that defeat which has brought him blessings that would have been impossible otherwise, has been taken again into full participation in the administration of the Government; that no penalties, limitations, or other inflictions rest upon him. I have taken and can always take the hand of a brave Confederate soldier with confidence and respect.

The West Not Jealous of the East.

[Indianapolis, October 4, 1888.]

We are not jealous of the prosperity of New England; we rejoice in it. We believe that the protective policy developed her great manufacturing institutions and made her rich, and we do not doubt that a continuance of that policy will produce the same results in Michigan, Ohio and Indiana. We are not content to remain wholly agricultural States in our relations either to New England or Old England. We believe that in all these great Western States there are minerals in the soil, and energy and skill in the brains and arms of our people that will yet so multiply and develop our manufacturing industries as to give us a nearer home market for much of the produce of our soil. And for that great surplus which now and always, perhaps, we shall not consume at home we think a New England market better than a foreign market.

This Is Truly a Nation.

[Indianapolis, August 15, 1888.]

We believe that this Government is not a confederation, to be dissolved at the will of any member of it, but a Nation having the inherent right, by arms, if need be, to perpetuate its beneficial existence.

The Works of the Republican Party.

[Reception by Marquette Club, Chicago, March 20, 1888.]

I am only here to-night briefly to sketch to you the magnificent career of this party to which we give our allegiance—a union of the States, restored, cemented, regenerated; a Constitution cleansed of its compromises with slavery and brought into harmony with the immortal Declaration; a race emancipated, given citizenship and the ballot; a national credit preserved and elevated until it stands unequaled among the nations of the world; a currency more prized than the coin for which it may be exchanged; a story of prosperity more marvelous than was ever written by the historian before. This is in brief outline the magnificent way in which the Republican party has wrought. It stands to-day for a pure, equal, honest ballot the country over.

It Has Made the More Perfect Union.

[Fourth of July Address, Indianapolis, 1892.]

The day you have chosen for this visit suggests no thoughts that are not in harmony with the occasion. The Republican party has walked in the light of the Declaration of Independence. It has lifted the shaft of patriotism upon the foundation laid at Bunker Hill. It has made the more perfect Union secure by making all men free. Washington and Lincoln, Yorktown and Appomattox, the Declaration of Independence and the Proclamation of Emancipation are naturally and worthily associated in our thoughts to-day.

He Reads Their Signals Aright.

[Reception to railroad men, Indianapolis, July 13th.]

Your visit is very gratifying to me, and is full of significance and interest. If I read aright the language of your lanterns you have signaled the Republican train to go ahead. You have concluded that it is freighted with the interests and hopes of the workingmen of America and must have the right of way. The train has been inspected; you have given it your skilled and intelligent approval; the track has been cleared and the switches spiked down. Have I read your signals aright?

Reciprocity.

[Galveston, Tex., April 18, 1891.]

The inauguration of the three Americas' Congress, or more properly the American Conference, the happy conduct of that meeting, the wise and comprehensive measures which were manifested by it, with the fraternal and kindly spirit that was manifested by our southern neighbors, has stimulated a desire in them and in our people for a larger intercourse of commerce and of friendship. The provisions of the bill passed at the last session looking to reciprocity of trade not only met with my official approval when I signed the bill, but with my zealous promotion before the bill was reported.

Its provision concerning reciprocity is that we have placed upon our free list sugar, tea, coffee and hides, and have said to those nations from whom we receive these great staples: Give us free access to your ports for an equivalent amount of our produce in exchange, or we will reimpose duties upon the articles named.

Europe Cannot Take It All.

[Galveston, Texas, April 18th.]

If you are content, I am not, that the nations of Europe shall absorb nearly the entire commerce of these near sister republics that lie south of us. It is naturally in large measure ours—ours by neighborhood, ours by nearness of access, ours by that sympathy that binds a hemisphere without a king.

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Our People Realize Their Opportunity.

[Dedication Monument, Bennington, Vt., August 19, 1891.]

I believe we have come to a time when we may look out to greater things. Secure in our own instructions, enriched almost beyond calculation, I believe we have reached a time when we may take a large part in the great transactions of the world. I believe our people are prepared now to insist that the American flag shall be seen upon the sea, and that our merchants and manufacturers are ready to seize the golden opportunity that is now offered for extending our commerce into the States of Central and South America. I believe that conservative views of finance will prevail in this country. I am sure discontent and temporary distress will not tempt our people to forsake those safe lines of public administration in which commercial security alone rests.

Reciprocity Is Now a Fact.

[St. Albans, Vt., August 25, 1891.]

Secure in the great American market for our manufactures—a market the best per capita of any in the world—we have come now to believe that we may well extend our trade and send our manufactured products to other countries across the seas and in ships carrying the American flag. We do not need in any degree to break down or injure our own domestic industries. We are consuming, to an enormous extent, of tropical products not produced by our people, and by a fair exchange with the nations sending us sugar, tea and coffee, we propose and have entered successfully upon the enterprise of opening the markets of Central and South America to the manufacturing establishments of New England and the United States.

We Are the Best Buyers and Pay the Best Wages.

[Address at Marquette Club Banquet, Chicago, March 20, 1888.]

In all the addresses which have been made to me there has been some reference to the great question of the protection of our American industries. I see it upon the banners which you carry. Our party stands unequivocally, without evasion or qualification, for the doctrine that the American market shall be preserved for our American producers. We are not attracted by the suggestion that we should surrender to foreign producers the best market in the world. Our sixty millions of people are the best buyers in the world, and they are such because our working classes receive the best wages. But we do not mean to be content with our own market. We should seek to promote closer and more friendly commercial relations with the Central and South American States. And what is essential to that end? Regular mails are the first conditions of commerce.

Poor Money's First Errand.

[Reception at Albany, N. Y., Aug. 18, 1891.]

I am one of those that believe that these men from your shops, these farmers remote from money centers, have the largest interest of all people in the world in having a dollar that is worth a hundred cents every day in the year, and only such. If by any chance we should fall into a condition where one dollar is not so good as another, I venture the assertion that that poor dollar will do its first duty in paying some poor laborer for his work. Therefore, in the conduct of our public affairs I feel pledged, for one, that all the influences of the Government should be on the side of giving the people only good money and just as much of that kind as we can.

Each Dollar Must Be a Full Dollar.

[Letter to Commercial Congress, Kansas City, April 14, 1891.]

I believe that every person who thoughtfully considers the question will agree with me upon a proposition which is at the base of all my consideration of the currency question, namely, that any dollar, paper or coin, that is issued by the United States must be made and kept in its commercial uses as good as any other dollar. So long as any paper money issued or authorized by the United States Government is accepted in commercial use as the equivalent of the best coined dollar that we issue, and so long as every coined dollar, whether of silver or gold, is assured of an equivalent value in commercial use, there need be no fear as to an excess of money.

No Republican Menaces the Ballot Box.

[Indianapolis, August 17th.]

There is not a Republican voting precinct where any man, whatever may have been his relations to the flag during the war, may not freely exercise his right to vote. There is not one such precinct where the right of a Confederate soldier freely to cast the ballot of his choice would not be defended by the Union veterans of the war. Our party is tolerant of political differences.

Equal Electoral Rights Must be Maintained.

[Indianapolis, August 17th.]

The disfranchisement of a single legal elector by fraud or intimidation is a crime too grave to be regarded lightly. The right of every qualified elector to cast one free ballot and to have it honestly counted must not be questioned. Every constitutional power should be used to make this right secure and to punish frauds upon the ballot.

The Suffrage of Equal Value.

[Message to Congress, December 9, 1891.]

An election implies a body of electors having prescribed qualifications, each one of whom has an equal value and influence in determining the result. So when the Constitution provides that "each State shall appoint [elect], in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors," etc., an unrestricted power was not given the Legislatures in the selection of the methods to be used. "A republican form of government" is guaranteed by the Constitution to each State, and the power given by the same instrument to the Legislatures of the States to prescribe methods for the choice, by the State, of electors must be exercised under that limitation. The essential features of such a Government are the right of the people to choose their own officers and the nearest practicable equality of value in the suffrages given in determining that choice.

Electoral Crimes Must be Eradicated.

[Message to Congress, Dec. 9, 1891.]

An attempt was made in the last Congress to bring to bear the constitutional powers of the General Government for the correction of frauds against the suffrage. It is important to know whether the opposition to such measure is really vested in particular features supposed to be objectionable or includes any proposition to give to the election laws of the United States adequacy to the correction of grave and acknowledged evils. I must yet entertain the hope that it is possible to secure a calm, patriotic consideration of such constitutional or statutory changes as may be necessary to secure the choice of the officers of the Government to the people by fair apportionments and free elections. I believe it would be possible to secure a commission, nonpartisan in its membership and composed of patriotic, wise and impartial men, to whom a consideration of the question of the evils connected with our election system and methods might be committed, with a good prospect of securing unanimity in some plan for removing or mitigating those evils. The Constitution would permit the selection of the commission to be vested in the Supreme Court, if that method would give the best guaranty of impartiality.

Let Us Keep the Ballot Pure.

[Lathrop, Cal., April 25, 1891.]

I cannot look forward with any human apprehension to any danger to our country unless it approaches us through a corrupt ballot-box. Let us keep that spring pure, and these happy valleys shall teem with an increasing population of happy citizens, and our country shall find in an increasing population only increased unity and strength.

Camp-Fire Scenes.

[Indianapolis, June 30, 1888.]

I recall no scene more pathetic than that which I have often seen about our camp-fires. An aged man, a fugitive from slavery, had found freedom in our camp. After a day of hard work, when taps had sounded and the lights in the tents were out, I have seen him with a spelling book that the chaplain had given him, lying prone upon the ground taxing his old eyes and pointing with his hardened finger to the letters of the alphabet, as he endeavored to open to his clouded brain the avenues of information and light.

Parties and the Colored Race.

[Indianapolis, July 25, 1888.]

I greet you as Republicans to-day. I recall the time when you were disfranchised; when your race were slaves; when the doors of our institutions of learning were closed against you, and even admittance to many of our Northern States was denied you. You have read the story of your disfranchisement, of the restoration to you of the common rights of men. Read it again; read the story of the bitter and bigoted opposition that every statute and constitutional amendment framed for your benefit encountered. What party defended you when you needed friends? What party has stood always as an obstruction to the development and enlargement of your rights as citizens? When you have studied these questions well you will be able to determine not only where your gratitude is due, but where the hopes of your race lie.

The Government's Duty to Restore Shipping.

[Portland, Or., May 5, 1881.]

I am in entire sympathy with the suggestion of the Mayor that it is important that this commerce should be carried in American ships. A few days ago, when I sailed in the harbor of San Francisco, I saw three great deep-water ships come into that port. One carried the flag of Hawaii, and two the English flag. None bore at the masthead the stars and stripes. I believe it is the duty of the national Government to take such steps as will restore the American merchant marine.

Ready Now to Build Great Vessels.

[Malone, Aug. 26, 1892.]

From causes as to which we differ we have come to a condition recognized by all. We have been deprived of our once proud participation in the ocean-carrying trade of the world. I think we should now resume it. The wise and timely inauguration of a new navy has demonstrated the capacity of our American shipyards to produce the best ships in the world. The Government having pioneered in this work of shipbuilding by the encouragement it has given to our constructors and our artisans, has paved the way now for building great ships of commerce.

Pay Tribute First to Ourselves.

[Malone, Aug. 26, 1892.]

And I take great delight in the contemplation of the fact, which I believe is now assured, that before another year has rolled around one of the swiftest and best of all the great lines of steamships that go out of the port of New York will bear the American flag at the fore, and the tribute we have paid to foreign nations in the way of freight charges I believe will speedily, in a large measure, be abrogated forever. These great stores of agricultural products which we pour out from our granaries to feed the nations of Europe, should, and I believe speedily will, be delivered at the port of Liverpool in American bottoms.

Better Days Dawning.

[Seattle, Wash., May 6, 1891.]

I do most sincerely believe that we are entering upon a new development that will put the American flag upon the seas and bring to our ports in American bottoms a largely increased share of the commerce of the world.

Our Own Shops for Our Own Trade.

[Seattle, Wash., May 6, 1891.]

We shall need something more. We shall need American steamships to carry American goods to these ports. The last Congress passed a bill appropriating about $1,500,000, and authorized the Postmaster-General to contract with steamship companies for a period not exceeding ten years for the carrying of the United States mail. The foreign mail service is the only mail service out of which the Government has been making a net profit. We do not make a profit out of our land service.

Where on the Sea is the Starry Banner?

[Reception at Omaha, Neb., May 13, 1891.]

A few days ago, sailing in the harbor of San Francisco, I saw three great deep-water ships enter the Golden Gate. One carried the flag of Hawaii, and two the British flag, and at Portland they took the pains to tow up from the lower harbor and to deck in bunting an American ship that was lying in the harbor. It was a curious sight—one they thought important to exhibit to strangers visiting that city. Why, my countrymen, I hope the day is not far distant when the sight of great American ships flying the stars and stripes at the fore will be familiar not only in our own ports, but in every busy mart of commerce the world around.

Good Soldiers in Both Parties.

[Indianapolis, Ind., July 24, 1888.]

We do not limit our praise of the loyalty and faithfulness of your soldiers to any party lines, for we realize that there were good soldiers who did resume their ante-war politics when they came back from the army. To such extend a comrade's hand always, and the free and untrammeled exercise of his political choice shall not bar our comradeship.

Don't Use the Apothecary's Scales!

[Indianapolis, Ind., August 1, 1888.]

And now peace has come; no hand is lifted against the flag; the Constitution is again supreme and the nation one. My countrymen, it is not time now to use an apothecary's scales to weigh the rewards of the men who saved the country.

Ready to Stand by Our Uniforms.

[Chilean Message.]

We regret every civil contest that disturbs their peace and paralyzes their development, and are always ready to give our good offices for the restoration of peace. It must, however, be understood that this Government, while exercising the utmost forbearance toward weaker powers, will extend its strong and adequate protection to its citizens, to its officers, and to its humblest sailors when made the victims of wantonness and cruelty in resentment, not of their personal misconduct, but of the official acts of their Government.

If We are Good for Anything We Must Protect the Flag.

[Chilean Message.]

In submitting these papers to Congress for that grave and patriotic consideration which the questions involved demand, I desire to say that I am of the opinion that the demands made of Chile by this Government should be adhered to and enforced. If the dignity as well as the prestige and influence of the United States are not to be wholly sacrificed, we must protect those who, in foreign ports, display the flag or wear the colors of this Government against insult, brutality and death inflicted in resentment of the acts of their Government, and not for any fault of their own.

The Flag Must Be Their Protection.

[From his Chilean Message.]

A claim for reparation has been made in behalf of this man, for while he was not a citizen of the United States, the doctrine long held by us, as expressed in the Consular Regulations, is "principles which are maintained by this Government in regard to the protection, as distinguished from the relief, of seamen are well settled. It is held that the circumstance that the vessel is American is evidence that the seamen on board are such; and in every regularly documented merchant vessel the crew will find their protection in the flag that covers them."

Popular Education Necessary to Free Government.

[Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1889.]

The interest of the General Government in the education of the people found an early expression, not only in the thoughtful and sometimes warning utterances of our ablest statesmen, but in liberal appropriation from the common resources for the support of education in the new States. No one will deny that it is of the gravest national concern that those who hold the ultimate control of all public affairs should have the necessary intelligence wisely to direct and determine them.

The Courage of Railroad Men.

[Indianapolis, Ind., October 27th.]

I know the stout hearts, I know the intelligence, I know the enterprise of those men who ran our railway trains and pushed them at lightning speed through darkness and storm. I know the skill and faithfulness of those who sit at the telegraph instrument, holding in their watchfulness the safety of those who journey. I know the fidelity of the men who conduct this business, which has grown to be a system as fine and perfect as the finest product of mechanical art.

The Value of Schools.

[Letter of Acceptance, Indianapolis, September 11, 1888.]

The Nation, not less than the States, is dependent for prosperity and security upon the intelligence and morality of the people. This common interest very early suggested national aid in the establishment and endowment of schools and colleges in the new States.

Not to be Scared by "Subsidy" Cries.

[Indianapolis, July 31, 1888.]

The merchant must know when his order will be received, and when his consignment will be returned, or there can be no trade between distant communities. What we need, therefore, is the establishment of American steamship lines between our ports and the ports of Central and South America. Then it will no longer be necessary that an American Minister, commissioned to an American State, shall take an English ship to Liverpool to find another English ship to carry him to his destination. We are not to be frightened by the use of that ugly word "subsidy." We should pay to American steamship lines a liberal compensation for carrying our mails, instead of turning them over to British tramp steamships. We do not desire to dominate these neighboring Governments; we do not desire to deal with them in any spirit of aggression. We desire these friendly political, mental and commercial relations which shall promote their interests equally with ours. We should no longer forego those commercial relations and advantages which our geographical relations suggest and make so desirable.

American Wanderers Must Not be Lonely.

[Pacific Hotel Banquet, San Francisco, May 1, 1891.]

We should have on the sea some good vessels. We don't need as great a navy as some other people, but we do need a sufficient navy of first-class ships, simply to make sure that the peace of the hemisphere is preserved; simply that we may not leave to the great distant marts and harbors of commerce and our few citizens who may be domiciled there to feel lonesome for the sight of the American flag.

Welded in the Battle's Flame.

[Public Reception, Indianapolis, June 30th.]

I am very certain that there is no class whose confidence and respect I more highly prize or more earnestly covet than that of the soldiers who, in the great war from 1862 to 1865, upheld the loved banner of our country and brought it home in honor. The comradeship of the war will never end until our lives end. The fires in which our friendship was riveted and welded were too hot for the bond ever to be broken. We sympathize with each other in the glory of the common cause for which we fought.

The Debt to the Veterans.

[Inaugural Address.]

Our pension law should give more adequate discriminating relief to the Union soldiers and sailors and to their widows and orphans. Such occasions as this should remind us that we owe everything to their valor and sacrifice.

At Resaca.

[Reception to Seventieth Indiana Volunteers, Indianapolis, June 26, 1888.]

I remember the scenes of battle in which we stood together. I remember especially that broad and deep grave at the foot of the Resaca hill where we left those gallant comrades who fell in that desperate charge. I remember, through it all, the gallantry, devotion and steadfastness, the high-set patriotism you always exhibited. I remember how, after sweeping down with Sherman from Chattanooga to the sea and up again through the Carolinas and Virginia, you, with those gallant armies that had entered the gate of the South by Louisville and Vicksburg, marched in the great review up the grand avenue of our Nation's Capital.

We Should Cease to be Careless.

[Inaugural Address, March 4, 1889.]

Our naturalization laws should be so amended as to make the inquiry into the character and good disposition of persons applying for citizenship more careful and searching. Our existing laws have been in their administration an unimpressive and often unintelligible form. We accept the man as a citizen without any knowledge of his fitness, and he assumes the duties of citizenship without any knowledge as to what they are. The privileges of American citizenship are so great and its duties so grave that we may well insist upon a good knowledge of every person applying for citizenship and a good knowledge by him of our institutions. We should not cease to be hospitable to immigration, but we should cease to be careless as to the character of it. There are men of all races, even the best, whose coming is necessarily a burden upon our public revenues or a threat to social order. These should be identified and excluded.

Schools, Not Armies, the Source of Our Strength.

[Address National Educational Association, Saratoga, July 13, 1892.]

It is quite as appropriate, I think, tha the President of the United States should review the teachers of the land as that he should review its army or its militia. For, after all, the strength and defense of our institutions, not only in peace, but in war, are to be found in the young of the land, who have received from the lips of patriotic teachers the story of the sacrifice which our fathers made to establish our civil institutions, and which their sons have repeated on the hundreds of battlefields. The organized army of the United States, if we include the militia of the States, is of insignificant proportion when put in contrast with the armies of the other great powers of the world. Our strength is not in these; it is in the great reserve to be found in the instructed young of our land, who come to its defense in time of peril. It was not the brawlers, it was not the frequenters of the tavern, of whom our army in the Civil War was made, or of whom our army must be made if any great emergency of war again confronts us.

Protest Against Cheap Products, Too.

[Indianapolis, August 15, 1888.]

There are some who profess to be eager to exclude paupers and Chinese laborers, and at the same time advocate a policy that brings the American workman into competition with the product of cheap foreign labor. The disastrous effects upon our workingmen and working-women of competition with cheap, underpaid labor are not obviated by keeping the cheap worker over the sea if the product of his cheap labor is allowed free competition in our market. We should protect our people against competition with the products of underpaid labor abroad as well as against the coming to our shores of paupers, laborers under contract and the Chinese labor.

It is a Much Needed Reform.

[Letter of acceptance, Sept. 11, 1888.]

The law regulating appointments to the classified civil service received my support in the Senate in the belief that it opened the way to a much-needed reform. I still think so, and, therefore, cordially approve the clear and forcible expression of the convention upon this subject.

Human Life Must Not be Jeopardized.

[Message to Congress, February 17, 1892.]

There was passed by the last Congress "An Act for the protection of the lives of the miners in the Territories," which was approved by me on the 3d day of March, 1891. That no appropriation was made to enable me to carry the Act into effect resulted, I suppose, from the fact that it was passed so late in the session. This law recognizes the necessity of a responsible public inspection and supervision of the business of mining in the interest of the miners, and is in a line with the legislation of most of the States.

The work of the miner has its unavoidable incidents of discomfort and danger, and these should not be increased by the neglect of the owners to provide every practicable safety appliance. Economies which involve a sacrifice of human life are intolerable.

The Law Must Be Enforced.

[Inaugural Address.]

Heads of departments, bureaus and other public officers having any duty connected therewith, will be expected to enforce the civil service law fully and without evasion. Beyond this obvious duty I hope to do something more to advance the reform.

Honesty in the Public Service.

[Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 1, 1860.]

The vast and increasing business of the Government has been transacted by the several departments during the year with faithfulness, energy and success. The revenues, amounting to above $450,000,000, have been collected and disbursed, without revealing, so far as I can ascertain, a single case of defalcation or embezzlement. The closest scrutiny of Congress is invited to all the methods of administration and to every item of expenditure.

The German Citizens' Home.

[Indianapolis, Ind., October 13, 1888.]

My German-American friends, you are a home-loving people; father, mother, wife, child are words that to you have a very full and a very tender meaning. The old father and mother never outlive the veneration and love of the children in a German household. You have come from the Fatherland in families, and have set up again here the old hearthstones. Out of this love of home there is naturally born a love of country—it is only the widening of the family circle—and so our fellow-citizens of German birth and descent did not fail to respond with alacrity and enthusiasm to the call of their adopted country when armies were mustered for the defense of the Union.

Give Them Good Tools to Work With.

[Inaugural Address.]

The construction of a sufficient number of modern war ships and of their necessary armament should progress as rapidly as is consistent with care and perfection in plans and workmanship. The spirit, courage and skill of our naval officers and seamen have many times in our history given to weak ships and inefficient guns a rating greatly beyond that of the naval list. That they will again do so upon occasion I do not doubt; but they ought not, by premeditation or neglect, be left to the risks and exigencies of an unequal combat.

Consult Our Own Country.

[Bloomington, July 26, 1888.]

The British Parliament does not legislate with a view to advance the interests of the people of the United States. They—rightly—have in view the interests of that Empire over which Victoria reigns. Should we not, also, as Americans, in our legislation, consider first the interests of our people?

Things May be Too Cheap.

[Chicago, March 20, 1888.]

I am one of those uninstructed political economists that have an impression that some things may be too cheap; but I cannot find myself in full sympathy with this demand for cheap coats, which seems to me necessarily to involve a cheaper man and woman under the coat. I believe it is true to-day that we have many things in this country that are too cheap, because w[illegible]r it is proved that the man or [illegible]o produces any article cannot [illegible]ving out of it then it is too cheap.

The Gates of Castle Garden.

[Indianapolis, July 26, 1888.]

Some resort to statistics to show that the condition of the American workman is better than that of the workman of any other country. I do not care now to deal with statistics. One fact is enough for me. The tide of emigration from all European countries has been and is toward our shores. The gates of Castle Garden swing inward. They do not swing outward to any American laborer seeking a better country than this.

Good Words From a Man of Good Works

With due regard to all local interests, we should seek that general legislation which touches with kindly fingers the humblest homes in our land.

Art, music, poetry and song should not be separated from the homes of the poor.

To every one of you I wish the most abundant success; that every home represented here may be a typical American home in which morality, purity and love sit as the crowning virtues and are household gods.

As long as we have pure homes and God-fearing, order-loving fathers and mothers to rear the children that are given to them, and to make these homes the abodes of order, cleanliness, piety and intelligence, the American society and the American Union are safe.

I would to God it was always and everywhere so that when a man is put at a machine he should not be regarded by his employer as a part of it; that the human nature, the aspirations of a man, should still be recognized, and the relations with the employer be that of mutual confidence and helpfulness and respect.

Let it never be forgotten anywhere that commerce builds upon social order.

It is known to you all that our 65,000,000 people furnish per capita a larger market than any other like number of people. This grows out of the fact that our capacity for purchasing is larger than is found in those countries where poverty holds a larger sway. The workingman buys more, has more to buy with in America than in any other land in the world.

The home is the best as it is the first school of good citizenship.

I am a thorough believer in the American test of character. The rule must be applied to a man's own life, when his stature is taken. He will not build high who does not build for himself.

The American home is the one thing we cannot afford to lose out of the American life.

The law and the Constitution as the objects of every American citizen's veneration, and his willing obedience, is the one faith and the only safety of our people. No cause can be advanced in this country upon the lines of lawlessness. Intelligence and morality among our people, the church, the school and the home, these great rocks upon which our institutions and our safety rest, we will cherish and preserve.

THE SUPREME COURT ON THE BALLOT LAW.

The Supreme Court has decided that the provision of the ballot law permitting distinctive party headings on the official ballot for straight voting is unconstitutional, and therefore void.

The reasons for this holding are that the section providing for party headings is discriminative in favor of classes; that it is not uniform in its operation. Thus, if an organization related only to local nominations secures a heading, and a voter, by stamping an X opposite that heading votes straight, he is debarred from making other marks to indicate his choice of candidates for offices not local or not within the list of nominations made by the local party.

As to the effect of this decision, there can be no manner of doubt; it leaves all the candidates on a par, with their party or political character indicated opposite each name. The voter has then to stamp the X opposite each name for which he desires to vote, except that in voting for Presidential Electors, he may vote for a party group, as the law provides, because in that there is no discrimination or non-uniformity. So that a voter can vote the Republican, Democratic, Prohibition or People's Party ticket for Presidential Electors and go on and indicate his choice of other candidates by selection of names and marking opposite to each one selected with the official stamp.

Instead of confusing electors or complicating the system, really it will make voters more careful, and will come more nearly to determining what the will of the people is as to the filling of each office. It will require intelligent examination of the official ballot, and personal selection of the candidate the voter prefers; it eliminates straight voting, in short, and actually brings the elections held under the law close to the ideal of a government of the people by the people, since it requires the exercise of personal judgment in selecting a candidate for each office to be filled.

Of course it will operate to the discomfort of the unintelligent voter and those who have been accustomed to have others do their thinking for them, and have followed blindly the dictates of party conventions. We will more nearly approach the ideal of a true representative government of delegated powers when the ignorant voter is eliminated wholly; when educational capacity and accomplishment as prescribed by a test is made an essential voting qualification, the same as is now the attainment of a certain age; freedom from the taint of infamy by conviction and commitment for certain crimes; soundness of mind, and a certain period of residence in the district.

The voters, both intelligent and illiterate, are, however, given alike by the law full opportunity to prepare their tickets long before the polls open. Ten days prior to the election every voter may have a sample ballot. This he can take to his home and there exercise his judgment in deliberate examination of the entire list of candidates. He may mark his choice upon this sample ballot, carry it with him into the booth on election day, and rapidly copy it upon the official ballot, of which it is an exact copy. More than this, there is published fully, for his benefit, an official list of candidates in the order in which they are to appear upon the official ballot.

Whoever, with such precautions taken to inform the voter, goes into the booth and cannot indicate his choice, is really too unintelligent to exercise the right of a sovereign voter, and is not worthy of the benefits and privileges of citizenship.

If this Republic is to be perpetuated and free institutions preserved, it is to be done upon the groundwork of intelligence. Ignorance cannot form the superstructure, nor be permitted to operate the machinery of political and social organization, and any results be attained essential to the maintenance of our system of government.

When the ballot law bill was before the Legislature, the RECORD-UNION's contention was for a form of ballot like that which is so successful in Indiana. There the party tickets appear upon the official ballot in party groups, with such vignette or other designation at the head as the party may adopt, while the independent nominees appear in a separate list. Under that system, which as fully as ours preserves the essence of the best reform ballot laws—secrecy of ballot, privacy during preparation, elimination of the ticket peddler, and prevention of crowds about the ballot box to exclude and intimidate voters—the voter can vote a ticket head, or select individual candidates from a number of tickets, or vote a ticket straight as far as it goes in presenting candidates, and then vote for other candidates nominated for offices not treated in his party ticket. Under such a system the objections raised by the Supreme Court decision would have been avoided, since the Non-partisans of San Francisco could have voted their straight ticket for local officers, without sacrificing their right to vote for offices not nominated for by their organization.

But the decision of the Supreme Court does not affect the central and vital principles of the reform ballot law; these all remain. There is absolute secrecy; impossibility to stuff the ballot box under the ballot number and check account; unimpeded approach to the ballot box for the voter, and the exercise of the personal judgment of the voter, whenever the elector chooses; impossibility for intimidation or supervision of the voter to be accomplished, save only in the case of the illiterates, and as to these, the hope of all lovers of free institutions is that the vote to be had November 8th, concerning an educational qualification for voters will be overwhelmingly affirmative.